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	RPE-01	/041W					

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P 151522Z DEC 93
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5286
INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 04 KIGALI 04440

YAOUNDE FOR DATT

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: MOPS, PGOV, PREL, RW
SUBJECT: GOR/RPF JOINTLY SET YEAR'S END AS TARGET FOR
INSTALLING BROAD-BASED GOVERNMENT

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REF: (A) KIGALI 4327, (B) KIGALI 4289

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SUMMARY. A JOINT GOR/RPF STATEMENT SETS DECEMBER 31 AS TARGET FOR INSTALLING TRANSITION INSTITUTIONS. UNAMIR BREAKS RECORDS FOR UN FORCE DEPLOYMENT; EXPECTS TO SECURE KIGALI BY DECEMBER 20 AND ESCORT RPF TO TOWN SOON THEREAFTER. WHETHER RWANDA'S FRACTURED POLITICAL PARTIES WILL BE READY REMAINS AN OPEN QUESTION. MDR TALKS REMAIN PROMISING BUT EARLY

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RECONCILIATION IS FAR FROM ASSURED. THE LIBERAL PARTY (PL) NOW HAS TWO LEADERSHIP COMMITTEES. ALTHOUGH CALM HAS PREVAILED FOR NEARLY A WEEK, RECENT TERRORIST INCIDENTS COMPLICATE CONFIDENCE BUILDING. END SUMMARY.

JOINT RPF-GOR STATEMENT

3-- THE GOR AND RPF ISSUED A JOINT STATEMENT DECEMBER 10 CONDEMNING UNEQUIVOCALLY THE RECENT MASSACRES AND THEIR PERPETRATORS AND COMMITTING THEMSELVES TO MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO HAVE THE TRANSITION INSTITUTIONS IN PLACE BY DECEMBER 31. THE TWO SIDES ASSURED UNAMIR OF THEIR FULL COOPERATION, REAFFIRMED THEIR COMMITMENT TO IMPLEMENT THE ARUSHA PEACE ACCORD, APPEALED TO RWANDANS TO RESPECT HUMAN RIGHTS OF ALL RWANDANS, AND CALLED ON ALL RWANDANS TO SUPPORT THE PEACE PROCESS AND COOPERATE WITH UNAMIR TO IMPLEMENT THE PEACE ACCORD.

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4. THE STATEMENT FOLLOWED A JOINT SESSION AT KINIHIRA CHAIRED BY THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL (SRSG), AMBASSADOR BOOH BOOH. PARTICIPATING WERE PRIME MINISTER UWILINGIYIMANA, PRIME MINISTER-DESIGNATE TWAGIRAMUNGU, AND RPF CHAIRMAN KANYARENGWE. FOREIGN MINISTER GASANA WAS ALSO PRESENT.

5. COMMENT. CHARGE AND VISITING AF/RA POLMILLOFF HAD BEEN SUGGESTING A JOINT STATEMENT TO ALL PARTIES, INCLUDING THE FOREIGN MINISTER, BOTH AS A CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURE AND A WAY OF SHOWING RWANDANS THAT, DESPITE RECENT TERRORIST INCIDENTS, THE GOR AND RPF SPEAK WITH ONE VOICE AND ARE DETERMINED TO PUSH AHEAD WITH IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PEACE ACCORD. END COMMENT.

UNAMIR BEATS UN RECORDS

6. SRSG BOOH BOOH CONVOKED THE DIPLOMATIC CORPS AND HEADS OF UN AGENCIES AND NGO'S FOR A UNAMIR BRIEFING 12/13, PRESENTED SMARTLY IN MILITARY STYLE, COMPLETE WITH OVERHEAD PROJECTIONS, MAPS AND POINTERS. UNAMIR

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COMMANDER GENERAL DALLAIRE PROVIDED AN OVERVIEW OF THE UNAMIR MISSION AND ITS CURRENT STATUS WHILE KIGALI SECTOR COMMANDER COL. MARSHALL, A BELGIAN, TALKED ABOUT PLANS TO SECURE KIGALI. THE UN SECURITY OFFICER DESCRIBED UN EVACUATION PLANS.

7. IN HIS BRIEFING, WHICH HE BEGAN WITH A PEANUTS
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CARTOON NOTING THAT "SECURITY KNOWS NO SEASON,"
GENERAL DALLAIRE MADE A NUMBER OF SIGNIFICANT POINTS:

-- WHEN THE BROAD-BASED GOVERNMENT (BBTG) IS PUT IN PLACE, 1225 OF 1422 TROOPS PLANNED FOR PHASE ONE WILL BE IN RWANDA. (SOME ENGINEERS AND LOGISTICIANS ARE STILL TO COME.)

-- TWO BATTALIONS OF ABOUT 400 TROOPS EACH ARE NOW DEPLOYED IN KIGALI, ONE BELGIAN BATTALION (KIBAT) AND ONE BANGLADESHI BATTALION (RUTBAT).

-- FINAL DECISION ON WHERE THE RPF BATTALION AND RPF PARTICIPANTS IN TRANSITION INSTITUTIONS WILL BE

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FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
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AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 04 KIGALI 04440

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HOUSED ONCE THEY COME TO KIGALI IS PENDING.
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(UNAMIR'S PROPOSAL FOR CAMP KAMI, 7 KMS NW OF KIGALI
REMAINS ON THE TABLE.)

-- WORKING LEVEL NEGOTIATIONS ARE TO BEGIN 12/15
BETWEEN GOR AND RPF ON UNAMIR'S PROPOSALS FOR TROOP
ASSEMBLY POINTS AND HEAVY WEAPONS CANTONMENT SITES.
(DALLAIRE TOLD CHARGE HE WILL PERSONALLY CONDUCT
HIGH-LEVEL NEGOTIATIONS ON REDRAWING THE DMZ TO
CONFORM TO THE REQUIREMENT FOR MINIMAL DISTANCEK
BETWEEN THE ASSEMBLY POINTS OF THE TWO SIDES.)

-- UNAMIR IS BEATING ALL UN RECORDS FOR TROOP
DEPLOYMENT SPEED, BUT LOGISTICAL AND COMMUNICATIONS
SUPPORT REMAINS WEAK.

-- UN HELICOPTER PATROLS HAVE BEGUN. (ON 12/13,
GENERAL DALLAIRE FLEW BY HELICOPTER TO RPF
HEADQUARTERS AT MULINDI).

-- BURUNDI REFUGEE CAMPS, A WORRY NOT FORESEEN WHEN

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SCR 872 WAS VOTED, HAVE CAUSED UNAMIR TO "REORIENT" SOME OF ITS RESOURCES. (UNAMIR HAS BEEN PATROLLING IN THE SOUTH. ON 12/13 UNAMIR PATROLS WENT TO RWANDA'S BORDERS EAST AT KIBUNGO, SOUTH IN BUGESERA, AND WEST AT CYANGUGU.)

8. COL. MARSHALL SAID UNAMIR WILL ESTABLISH AN ARMS-SECURE ZONE IN KIGALI AND THE SURROUNDING 10-KM RADIUS BY CONTROLLING THE MOVEMENT OF ALL ARMS AND AMMUNITION WITHIN THE ZONE. THE RWANDAN GOVERNMENT IS REQUIRED TO ANNOUNCE TO UNAMIR THE NUMBERS OF ALL

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MILITARY AND GENDARME PERSONNEL IN THE SECURE ZONE AND THEIR TYPES OF WEAPONS AND AMMUNITION AND TO CONSIGN THEIR WEAPONS AND AMMUNITION TO SEPARATE DEPOTS. UN WILL USE FIXED POST MONITORS, MOBILE MONITORS, ROAD CONTROL, AND, IF INDICATED, SEARCHES (IMPLYING IN RESIDENTIAL NEIGHBORHOODS AS WELL), TO ASSURE WEAPONS ARE SECURE. DECEMBER 20 IS UNAMIR'S TARGET DATE FOR A SECURE KIGALI.

9. SUBSEQUENTLY, THE BELGIAN BATTALION WILL ESCORT THE RPF BATTALION TO KIGALI. BOTH SIDES HAVE AGREED TO RULES THAT WILL REQUIRE NOTIFICATION TO UNAMIR OF ANY MOVEMENT OF FORCES WITHIN THE KIGALI SECURE ZONE. RPF IS TO BE LIMITED TO FIVE ESCORTS PER RPF OFFICIAL AND EACH ESCORT IS TO BE ACCOMPANIED BY A UNAMIR MONITOR.

10. IN ANSWER TO QUESTIONS, GENERAL DALLAIRE AND COL. MARSHA

L LET IT BE KNOWN THAT SECURITY FOR THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITYVRAA CONURN BUT NOT A TOP PRIORITY FOR UNAMIR. THEY EXPLAINED THAT UNAMIR WILL BE MAKING RANDOM SATURATION PATROLS 24-HOURS PER DAY IN KIGALI AND THAT CIVILIAN POLICE MONITORS WOULD BE WORKING WITH LOCAL GENDARME UNITS. REDUCING TENSIONS OF ANY KIND, THEY EMPHASIZED WAS THEIR PRIORITY.

(NOTE. A SEPARATE MEETING WITH UNAMIR FOR EMBASSY SECURITY OFFICERS IS SCHEDULED FOR FRIDAY 12/17. END NOTE.)

POLITICAL QUAGMIRE: THE MDR

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11. MEANWHILE, THE FRACTURED POLITICAL PARTIES, THE
MDR ANDMHF PL, ARE SHOWING NO SIGNS OF HEALING THEIR
RIFTS ANY TIME SOON. THE BISHOP'S MEDIATION WITH THE
MDR ON 12/9 LEFT BOTH SIDES HOPEFUL. THE TWO SIDES
AGREED TO MEET AGAIN 12/22 TO PRESENT RESPONSES O
THE BISHOP'S 5-POINT PROPOSAL FOR RECON
IGFWMO
X QSEQUENTLY, HOWEVER, A MEETING OUTSIDE THE BISHOP'S
FRAMEWORK, BROKERED BY PL MINISTER LANDO AND THE PSD

LEADERSHIP, MAY HAVE KEPT THE TWO SIDES DUG IN.
PRIME MINISTER-DESIGNATE FAUSTIN TWAGIRAMUNGU TOLD
CHARGE ANGRILY THAT HIS ADVERSARY, FORMER PM DISMAS
NSENIGYAREMYE, KEEPS INSISTING ON REOPENING THE PAST

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SUBJECT: GOR/RPF JOINTLY SET YEAR'S END AS TARGET FOR
PTNSTEULX LOOKING TO THE FUTURE. HE HIMSELF
STAUNCHLY IQ U VPQVSNNQ POSITIONS IN THE FUTURE
GOVERNMENT.

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12. MEANWHILE, THE DISMAS FACTION HELD
PREFECTURAL-LEVEL PARTY MEETINGS OVER THE WEEKEND TO
PREPARE FOR A NATIONAL PARTY CONGRESS CALLED BY THEIR
FACTION FOR DECEMBER 19. A SOURCE CLOSE TO DISMAS
TOLD CHARGE THAT THE DECEMBER 19 DATE WOULD
ULTIMATELY BE POSTPONED, AND THAT THE MEDIATION
MEETING OF THE 22ND WOULD GO FORWARD. HOWEVER, THE
TENDENCIES WITHIN THE DISMAS FACTION, ONE FAVORING
RECONCILIATION WITH TWAGIRAMUNGU (NGULINZIRA) AND THE
OTHER STAUNCHLY OPPOSED (MUREGO AND KARAMIRA), APPEAR
TO BE LOCKING HORNS ON THIS QUESTION, THUS DELAYING A
DEFERRAL DECISION.

POLITICAL QUAGMIRE: THE PL

13. THE PL FACTION OF PRESIDENT JUSTIN MUGENZI HELD
A PARTY CONGRESS OVER THE WEEKEND TO ELECT A NEW
DIRECTOR'S COMMITTEE. THIS MAKES TWO DIRECTOR
COMMITTEES FOR THE PL, THE OTHER HAVING BEEN ELECTED
AT A PARTY CONGRESS CALLED IN MID-NOVEMBER BY THE PL
FACTION LED BY MINISTER LANDO. MUGENZI INDICATED TO
CHARGE NO REMORSE FOR HIS APPROACH AND SAID THE OTHER
SIDE WAS WELCOME TO JOIN HIS. LANDO'S SIDE CHARGES
MUGENZI GATHERED "STREET PEOPLE," NOT PARTY MEMBERS
FOR HIS CONGRESS.

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14. MINISTER LANDO HAS AFFIRMED TO CHARGE ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS HIS WILLINGNESS TO DISCUSS WITH MUGENZI. HIS SIDE SAYS, THOUGH, THAT MUGENZI HAS REFUSED TO MEET WITH A MDR-PSD-PDC RECONCILIATION COMMITTEE,
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REJECTED TWAGIRAMUNGU'S MEDIATION EFFORTS, AND SCORNBED RPF EFFORTS. THE MDR-PSD-PDC GROUP, IN AN OPEN LETTER, APPEALED TO HIM TO CONSIDER THEIR PROPOSALS. THE RPF ISSUED A LOCAL LANGUAGE COMMUNIQUE REMINDING THE PL THAT IF ITS SEATS IN THE TRANSITION INSTITUTIONS REMAIN VACANT, THE PEACE ACCORD PROVIDES FOR OTHER PARTIES TO BE NAMED TO FILL THEM.

15. TWO MEMBERS OF THE LANDO FACTION CALLED ON CHARGE 12/15 SEEKING U.S. INTERVENTION TO CONVINCE MUGENZI TO DISCUSS THE SITUATION. WE REMINDED THEM THAT THE US SUPPORTS THE PEACE PROCESS AND BELIEVES A STRONG BROAD-BASED GOVERNMENT IS KEY TO SUCCESSFUL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ARUSHA PEACE ACCORD. WE URGED THEM TO CONTINUE EFFORTS TO CONTACT MUGENZI DIRECTLY.

16. COMMENT. MUGENZI IS VIEWED AS HOLDING OUT FOR HUTU CONTROL OF THE PARTY OVER TUTSI CONTROL IN ORDER TO ASSURE HUTU MINISTERS AND DEPUTIES OVER TUTSIS. HIS STEADFASTNESS AGAINST DIALOGUE LENDS CREDENCE TO SPECULATION THAT HE HAS TAKEN THIS BIZARRE TURN BECAUSE HE HAS "SOLD OUT" TO THE MRND. LANDO SAYS MUGENZI AND THE THIRD PL MINISTER NOW ALWAYS VOTE WITH THE MRND IN CABINET MEETINGS; HE ALLEGES NEW RECRUITS TO MUGENZI'S SIDE COME FROM MRND AND CDR. IF THE MRND COULD COUNT ON PL VOTES IN THE CABINET, IT COULD BE ASSURED OF A BLOCKING THIRD ON DISPUTED ISSUES. IF PL DEPUTIES COULD BE COUNTED ON TO VOTE WITH THE MRND, THEIR BLOC WOULD CONTROL 22 SEATS, NEARLY THE NUMBER NEEDED TO BLOCK A MOVE TO IMPEACH
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THE PRESIDENT. END COMMENT.

SECURITY REMAINS TENUOUS

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17. THERE HAVE BEEN NO TERRORIST INCIDENTS DURING
THE PAST WEEK. HOWEVER, THE DEATH TOLL FROM THE
BOOBY-TRAPPED FRANC NOTE IN TABA COMMUNE 12/3 HAS
RISEN TO 17 CHILDREN. SINCE THEN A GRENADE FOUND ON
PRIMARY-SCHOOL GROUNDS IN A NEIGHBORING COMMUNE WAS

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SUBJECT: GOR/RPF JOINTLY SET YEAR'S END AS TARGET FOR

DIFFUSED BY THE MILITARY. ALSO, HUMAN RIGHTS
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ORGANIZATIONS ARE REPORTING INCREASED HARASSMENT OF
PERSONS "SUSPECTED OF SUPPORTING THE RPF." THE
PRESIDENT OF THE COURT OF APPEALS IN KIBUNGO, A
TUTSI, HAS BEEN THREATENED REPEATEDLY OVER THE PAST
YEAR AND SEVERAL TIMES THIS MONTH. SEVERAL BAGOGWE,
A TUTSI SUB-GROUP LIVING IN THE VICINITY OF THE
MUTURA KILLINGS OF NOVEMBER 29-30, HAVE REPORTEDLY
BEEN ARRESTED AND TORTURED AT THE NEARBY MILITARY
CAMP.

COMMENT

18. WHILE UNAMIR IS BREAKING RECORDS WITH ITS SPEEDY
DEPLOYMENT IN RWANDA, KEY POLITICAL PARTIES CONTINUE
IN-FIGHTING FOR POSITIONS IN THE TRANSITION
INSTITUTIONS, USING STRATEGIES OF CONFRONTATION
RATHER THAN COMPROMISE AS IF THERE WERE ALL THE TIME
IN THE WORLD. IT'S LOOKING MORE AND MORE AS IF THE
RIFTS IN THE MDR AND PL WILL NOT/NOT BE HEALED BEFORE
THE BROAD-BASED TRANSITION GOVERNMENT AND TRANSITION
NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ARE SWORN IN AT THE END OF
DECEMBER. IF THIS IS THE CASE, TWAGIRAMUNGU MAY FORM
HIS GOVERNMENT WITHOUT INCLUDING HIS MDR OPPONENTS
AND POSSIBLY WITHOUT ANY MEMBERS OF THE PL. THE
NATIONAL ASSEMBLY COULD BE ANOTHER MATTER. MOST OF
THE PARTIES FAVOR ACCEPTING THE PREVIOUSLY ELECTED PL
DEPUTIES WHO ARE MOSTLY TUTSI. IN THE MDR, BOTH
FACTIONS APPEAR COMFORTABLE WITH SOME DEPUTIES FROM
EACH FACTION. LEADER

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